1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

845 after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

A caul is named *kwadri* (umbrella), but no importance is attached to it, nor is it kept.

SECLUSION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

846 Two or three days after childbirth the mother and child go to the seclusion-hut, or *puzhars*, the same structure being used as after the hand-burning ceremony. Various rites are performed, both when going to and leaving the seclusion-hut, and these have many points in common with those which take place before and after the hand-burning. As in that case, the procedure for the Tartharol differs considerably from that of the Teivaliol.

The general name for the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pûthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which [824] she has been living since the delivery. She holds over her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'[1] which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with [776] the *putkuli*. From the moment she leaves the hut the woman is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

[1] Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kuguliikartmakh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

As the woman walks towards the place where the *pülpali* has been erected, another woman lays on the ground before her a leaf of *kakud* on which she puts some threads taken from a *suadtuni*—*i.e.*, the garment worn by the *wursol*. These threads are called *tunihar*,[1] and they are taken up by the mother and put in the string round her waist on the right side.[2] Water

FIG. 46.—TRISUELI SITTING AT THE DOOR OF THE 'PUZHARS' AT KARIA WITH HER FACE TURNED FROM THE SUN.

is then poured by the husband from the imitation *patatpun* over the hind quarters (*pòtha*) of a calf, so that it falls into the *ertatpun* just as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony. Before the woman drinks this water, three drops of it are put into the mouth of the child and a four-anna piece (*pawu*) into its hand. The mother then drinks three times

[1] Possibly this means "*calf of tuni*."

[2] It will be noticed that the woman puts the fragments of *tuni* in her waist-string on the right side, while the various dairymen who wear *petuni* put it on the left side.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

846 and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,[1] and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtpimi*, "to Namav we give."

[783] The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

776 I saw the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* on two
784 occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol.
846 The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman, Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tòrikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

846 After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

Marrunt	*sivn*	*mikh*	*mokh*	(or *kugh*)	*nipatia?*
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

1 [of the seclusion of a woman following the birth of a child -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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"Have you had a son (or daughter) and are yet alive?" The visitors then go to the huts of the village and are entertained.

The woman and child stay in the seclusion-hut, accompanied by the husband and by a woman who is usually the assistant at the birth. If the child is not the first, the mother remains in seclusion till a few days before the next new moon, this kind of seclusion being called *nâtersper*. If the child is the first-born, the stay in the seclusion-hut is longer and is called *kadrthersper*. In this case the woman stays in the hut till a month has elapsed after the new moon following the birth. Thus Sintagars went into seclusion on Sunday, October 19th, and came out on Thursday, November 27th, 1902, exactly four weeks after the new moon of October 31st.

The proceedings on leaving the seclusion-hut are like those which take place after the seclusion following the *urvatpimi* ceremony, but with a few additional rites.

Among the Tartharol there is only one ceremony, called *marthk maj atpimi*, in which a buffalo is milked on the morning of the day by a Melgars man. Before the woman drinks the milk in the evening, another woman lays threads of *tuni* on leaves of *kakud*, and puts them on the ground before the mother, who puts them in the right side of her waist-string as when going to the seclusion-hut. After returning to the hut the woman drinks Melgars buttermilk and eats food cooked in Melgars buttermilk in exactly the same way as after the hand-burning ceremony.

Among the Teivaliol the return to ordinary life takes place in two stages, as after the hand-burning ceremony. The woman first goes to the *aliars*, or to the hinder part of the *merkalars*, after drinking water, which has been supposed to be turned into milk by pretended milking from a pregnant buffalo. I saw this ceremony on one occasion (Fig. 47) when the pretended milking was done by a small boy, Pongudr (52), and the supposed milk was poured into the leaves and given to the mother by a woman who had not been present in the seclusion-hut with her. The person who pretends to milk the pregnant buffalo becomes *ichchil* by doing so, and the reason

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

846 why a young boy was chosen for this office was that the adult members of the family might escape the disabilities attendant on this condition. On this occasion especial care was taken that the mother should sit facing the sun during the ceremony. She at first sat down with her face turned away from the sun, and she was made to turn round, so that

FIG. 47.—SINTAGARS DRINKING AT THE 'MARTHK MAJ ATPIMI' CEREMONY. THE BOY, PONGUDR, IS SITTING BEHIND HER.

she directly faced it. This was the exact opposite of the procedure followed when going to the seclusion-hut.

After being in the *aliars* or *merkalars* for a week there follows the ceremony of *marthk maj atpimi*, which is the same as that after the *urvatpimi* ceremony, with the addition that a representation of a hut is made with five or six sticks of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties.

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol.

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf.

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

suggested is the most probable one; but this can only be conjecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however, has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

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A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pūlpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Pūli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pūl* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr teritht*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvaiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other.

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali.

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division.

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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'We call a midwife merely old woman—kelachi'[1]—said my informant—an elderly gentleman with a large family—'why give a name for midwife when every woman can act?' This, though from the male point of view, is nevertheless a statement whose truth is borne out by facts.

'The umbilical cord—pokku—is severed by laying it on a piece of wood, and cutting with a knife.'

'What! tie it with string first!' raising his eyes roguishly to the roof, as if looking for a piece of string projecting from the thatch. 'I have plenty of children, but have never heard of such a thing! ha! ha! ha! Tie it with string! ha! ha! ha!' Here the old man turned the laugh against us, protesting that such a thing was never done. Whether the cord is tied, but that he had for so many years remained in ignorance of the fact: or if it is really never bound, in savage life, I had no further opportunity of enquiring: but leave the narration as it was given to me by a great authority.

On the morning after the child has been born, the mother is removed to a shed—purzârsh[2]—which has been erected for her in some sequestered spot of the village wood, in anticipation of the approaching event. There she remains till the next new moon—muttu[3]—whether that phase occur in the course of 3 or of 30 days. These people cannot explain the reason for this removal: but possibly they may suppose the monthly aspect or reappearance of the moon to have some periodic effect on women. I did not succeed in eluci-

[1] Kelachi = *old woman*; Kelâl = *old man*. Tamil: kirra = *old*. Kirra van = *old man*; Kirra tti—*old woman*—tti pronounced chi—Âl = *man*. Keladi, in ancient Kanarese = *a female friend*. [POPE.]

[2] Pur²rsh. In Tamil we have purra = *outer*. Sansk. âlayam = *dwelling*. Any termination may be converted in a Toda mouth to a guttural sound made up of l, r, and sh. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz is of opinion that purzh = *mud*; and that purzârsh means a *mud hut* or *temporary house*.

[3] Muttu, new moon = *jewel, pearl*, in Sansk. and Drâvid. [POPE.] Tiggalu, full moon, the moon. Ti is a part of dina = *day*. Glau = *the moon*, Sansk. In Tamil, tingal. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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dating any expression of such belief from them: but the profound ignorance in which they are steeped is amply sufficient to account for all want of knowledge of reasons. The custom is probably an extremely ancient one. Some notion, of the nature I have described, may have founded the practice, though all trace of its origin or cause, may have been forgotten long ages ago.

For a month after her return home, she appears to have the house to herself: her husband remaining indebted to friends for shelter meanwhile.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to a woman just after her return from the purzârsh. In the course of my inquisitorial visits, which will be more fully described in Chapter X., I had ascertained in a certain village, that there was a young female infant which had not been shown to me: and this might be an infanticide! Almost hoping such might be the case, and that I had discovered a mother red-handed, I enquired after its health. 'Oh,' said the women, airily, and with the true maternal interest in young babies, 'they are both in the house round the corner.' Thither accordingly I went, and found the young mother awaiting a visit, hoping to receive for her small one—kin-minthki[4]—one of the little silver-bits she heard were circulating so freely amongst the children of the Mand, from whose society she was still debarred.

Studying the Frontispiece and the pictures of Toda women in this book, anyone of artistic taste can fancy the little picture; which in its way was pretty and interesting. Scene; an old-looking and water-stained log hut, belonging to a primæval tribe of the glacial period: summer time: brilliant sun: green herbage: forest background. The imagination is now sufficiently developed to appreciate the tableau! A

[4] Kin-minthki = *female infant*. Kin = çin = *little*: a Drâvidian root. Minthki is probably a corruption of manujâ or manushî = *woman*—Sansk. [POPE.]

Popen = *male infant*. This is a mere term of endearment. Drâvidian pomma is a *puppet*; with which it may be compared. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a comic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions.

A boy is named—peru or pesru or hesru = a name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth.

The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and pressing its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dânenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[1]

I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till *within sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading

[1] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the *male* children, the *men*, the *cows*, the *female* calves'—in fact, all that is useful —'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

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intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—porra[1] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[1] Porra = *outside*.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

About Cotacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Naajanda, and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pējāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pējāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *skola*. The Peiki *Varshdl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tōr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tōr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nervalu*, *maiha*, or *hera* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mīmāl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purshōrsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Poliian man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*hoe*), the *Purshōrsh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pālkoli*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kmals and

* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Mīmāl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the Purohita pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

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[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elaborated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Ürshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was [587] expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Ürshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsütpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn [846] Erzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror. [587] When she came of age, she was married to Alvurvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which 159 621 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it. 845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its [762] pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then [842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in [777] olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *teuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palini, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Erzigwuf had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the cus- 159 tom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he 621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always sur- [837] rounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen.

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complained that she was not feeling too well, and that she really did not have enough milk for twins a second time. The babies appeared quite well, the one who was presented to me as the girl seeming better and stronger than the other. Mutnarsh arrived soon after; he told me too that twins again were an impossible burden for his wife and himself, that Erzigwuf could not possibly feed them both, and ended up by asking me for some brandy for the mother, to which request I did not accede, as it is the Toda practice to distribute brandy to others on the occasion of a birth, and I suspected that that was the real motive of the demand. Besides, prohibition exists in the State of Madras, and it is impossible to obtain brandy except for medical purposes, this even being tied up with considerable formalities. The complaints about the difficulty of feeding twins made me suspect at once that, in accordance with Toda practice, it was not proposed to let more than one of them live, and that preferably the girl would be left to die. However, during the next days, Erzigwuf looked much better (she went out for a walk round the house on the 20th, in the evening) and so did the children, and I began to lose my suspicions.

I enquired who was the father, and I was assured that it was Mutnarsh. Kuddhue, since the first lot of twins were born, was not allowed near Erzigwuf, she told me, as she had the dreadful impression that they might be the result of his infirmities. Munbokwutn had had only fleeting intercourse with her, and that after her return from Palani with Mutnarsh, and after she knew herself to be pregnant. The other children were not jealous of the new babies, I was told, and from personal observation I gathered that this was correct. Both Sodup and Sodam seemed to have as much a share of their mother as before, both having been weaned from her some months earlier.

On the 24th May, the birth ceremony described by Rivers (*The Todas*, p. 324) under the name of *polk potha nit utpimi* took place. Readers are referred to that author for details of the ritual, but it can roughly be said that it is one in which the recently delivered mother is escorted to a *puzharsh* or seclusion-hut where she will remain in impurity until a few days before the next full moon, (in Erzigwuf's case, she remained there for only three days, as the new moon was just about due).

The ceremony took place in accordance with the prescribed rules, and Erzigwuf was accompanied by Mutnarsh and Silidz. What was unusual, however, was that when the part in which water is drunk out of bamboo tubes was reached, Sodup who was standing with the rest of

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us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox. So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quickest way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification. But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean), he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen. He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of children and the early development and education of the latter, I was obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations (which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow for the longer method.

Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam, two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month. The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her. They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment. The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the plant called *poli*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins